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# Kuki-Chin utterance-final particles

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CITATION:

Peterson, David A.. Kuki-Chin utterance-final particles. Proceedings of the 51st International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics 2018: 51.

ISSUE DATE:

2018-09

URL:

<http://hdl.handle.net/2433/235303>

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ICSTLL 51, Kyoto University, 27 September 2018

## KUKI-CHIN UTTERANCE-FINAL PARTICLES\*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

(1) South Central Tibeto-Burman (=Kuki-Chin) subgrouping (Peterson 2017):

- A. Northwestern (=Old Kuki: Monsang, Anal, etc.)
  - B. Central
    - i. Core Central (Hakha Lai, Mizo, etc.)
    - ii. Maraic
  - C. Peripheral
    - i. Northeastern (Tedim, Sizang, Vaiphei, etc.)
    - ii. Southeastern
      - a. Cho (Daai)
      - b. Hyow/Asho
    - iii. Southwestern (Khomic: Khumi, Mro-Khimi, Lemi, Rengmitca, etc.)
- generally assumed prevalence of utterance-final (sentence-final) particles in SEA languages (Goddard 2005, Enfield 2005, Vittrant and Watkins, to appear): closed-class elements typically encoding illocutionary force, *evidentiality*, *aspects of speaker attitude or stance*
  - while many descriptions of South Central languages have made use of notions like *particle* and *final particle*, they have rarely had much to say about elements in these latter categories

goals of the talk:

- look at some high-frequency utterance-final particles in selected languages, concentrating on ones related to the non-illocutionary force distinctions
- assess these phenomena across SC as a whole
- provide outlines of a framework for the future study of such elements for individual languages

### 2. FURTHER PRELIMINARIES

- what is the exact distribution (sentence, utterance, phrase, intonation unit)?
- what constitutes an utterance *-final* particle?
- must every sentence contain one (and only one)?
- utterance-final particle *complex* or *zone* rather than a single position?

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\* Work on Khumi has been supported by NSF #BCS-0349021. Work with Rengmitca is supported by NSF #BCS-1360770. My thanks to Ken VanBik for assistance with Lai, to Lelung Khumi and other members of the Khumi community in Bangladesh for our work on Khumi, and especially to Mangpün and Thwājnglök for helping me to learn about Rengmitca.

- (2) Phrase- or IU-final, Khumi:  
 nay<sup>11</sup>b<sup>1</sup>lö<sup>1</sup> thang<sup>11</sup>bë<sup>1</sup>=te<sup>5</sup> sam<sup>1</sup>rüng<sup>1</sup> ka<sup>1</sup>-müng<sup>5</sup> ca<sup>10</sup> jew<sup>1</sup>=nö<sup>3</sup>  
 then nightingale=EVID chili NR-ripe eat.IRR come=NR  
 ‘Then a nightingale came to eat red chilis.’ (1.75)
- (3) Not sentence-final, but utterance- or IU-final, Khumi:  
 ng<sup>1</sup>=e<sup>1</sup>  
 INTERJ=AFFIRM  
 ‘Yeah.’ (45:160)
- (4) Multiple occurrences of the same particle within a sentence, Khumi:  
 [a<sup>1</sup>reng<sup>6</sup> a<sup>1</sup>ju<sup>1</sup>=ba<sup>1</sup>] [kay<sup>1</sup>=ba<sup>1</sup>] [vay<sup>11</sup>ci<sup>1</sup>=lö<sup>1</sup>=ba<sup>1</sup>] [a<sup>1</sup>reng<sup>6</sup> a<sup>1</sup>ju<sup>1</sup> khang<sup>1</sup>-nö<sup>3</sup>=ba<sup>1</sup>]  
 king.GEN wife=BA 1s=BA before=TOP=BA king.GEN wife become-NR=BA  
 ‘...“I am the king’s wife. Before I became the king’s wife.”’ (24:116b.)
- (5) Particle sequences, Khumi:  
 a. =c’=bä<sup>4</sup>:  
 ke=nö<sup>3</sup>=c’=bä<sup>4</sup> nö<sup>3</sup> pë<sup>1</sup>=te<sup>5</sup>  
 bite-NR=CONF=BÄ QUOT say=EVID  
 ‘“(But) they’ll bite us!” they said.’ (18.129)
- b. =bä<sup>4</sup>=ö<sup>1</sup>:  
 m phre<sup>6</sup>-lä<sup>3</sup>-yā<sup>3</sup>=bä<sup>4</sup>=ö<sup>1</sup> vay<sup>1</sup>=lö<sup>1</sup> hây<sup>3</sup>-phro<sup>11</sup>phra<sup>5</sup>=bo<sup>3</sup>=bä<sup>4</sup>  
 INTERJ happen-NEG-PERS=BÄ=INF now=TOP good-little.by.little=REAL=BÄ  
 ‘Yes, nothing has happened. Now they’ve gotten better, little by little.’ (45.7)
- c. =c’=ö<sup>1</sup>:  
 vây<sup>4</sup>-täng<sup>3</sup>=c’=ö<sup>1</sup>  
 return-AGAIN=CONF=INF  
 ‘Of course I’ll go back.’ (41.11)
- d. =bä<sup>4</sup>=h’=lö<sup>1</sup>:  
 kuy<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> (am’iw ‘a’ âni)am<sup>1</sup>’â<sup>4</sup>=nö<sup>3</sup>a<sup>1</sup>nö<sup>3</sup> am<sup>1</sup>’â<sup>4</sup>-phriw<sup>1</sup>-vuy<sup>3</sup>=bo<sup>3</sup>=bä<sup>4</sup>=h’=lö<sup>1</sup>...  
 banana (false starts) golden=NR like golden-AUGVCL-PFV=REAL=BÄ=DEIC=TOP  
 ‘It (rice crop) has become golden-colored like bananas.’ (45.51)

### 3. EVIDENTIALS

#### 3.1. HEARSAY EVIDENTIAL

- (6) Hyow =tî:  
 ûy-tso<sup>5</sup>=ní lú-ák í-hní?-tsán-êy-hnô?<sup>5</sup>=tî  
 dog-DIM=FOC CLS-one 3A-DL-bring.up.II-MID-ULT=REPORTED.EVID  
 ‘The two brought up a puppy.’ (Zakaria 2017:122)
- (7) Rengmitca =ti:  
 angreng c’pa=nö=lö n’âj-p’aj maj=pö sa-pö-’ö=ti  
 rich son=LOC=TOP mother-father fire=FOC make<sub>B</sub>-BEN-NEG=EVID  
 ‘The rich son, his parents didn’t make a fire for him.’ (72.9)

### 3.2. OTHER ELEMENTS WITH EVIDENTIAL NUANCES

- (8) Lai =*taa* (sudden realization of something, often based on visual evidence):  
 ...alee rimnampaa=ni' a-ka-hlen-hoy-tsang=kaw=hii=taa  
 alas stinker=ERG 3SS-1SO-deceive-REGR-PERF=AFFIRM=DEIC=TAA  
 '... "Alas! The stinker has tricked me again!"...' (VLP.14)
- (9) ahman=kaw=hii=taa  
 true=AFFIRM=DEIC=TAA  
 ' "Look, it is true!" ' (NGTN.13)
- (10) aa ma'-hii-hii bia-law a-sii=hii=taa  
 interj DEM-DEM-DEM word-NEG 3sS-COP=DEIC=TAA  
 ' "Ah, this isn't going to work!" ' (TL.24)
- (Note: there are other attestations of =*taa* which don't seem to have exactly this sense; ultimately, it may be best compared with the inferential marker in Daai, seen below, and perhaps is relatable to Zakaria's (2017:390ff.) *deductive* marker in Hyow.)
- (11) Hyow =*nu* (sensory evidential involving visual evidence):  
 èy=lâ=tsæ' nílúp núng-khó?=nú tǐng...  
 ANAPH.DEM=ERG=TOP like.this be.able-FACT=SS.EVID QT  
 'They will say, "He is really able (to do the job) like this."...' (Zakaria 2017:487)
- (12) Daai (So-Hartmann 2009:293-298)  
 mirative: -*in*  
 direct experience: *vanikba*/=*kba* (based on sensory evidence;  
 all examples appear to be exclamatory)  
 inferential: *lek*  
 hearsay: *mjoh*

### 4. UTTERANCE/SENTENCE-FINAL DEICTIC ELEMENTS

- (13) Lai (Barnes 1998:55-56):
- ka-vok an-fiar=khi'  
 1S-pig 3PS-steal=YONDER  
 'Look! They're stealing my pig!'
  - ka-vok an-fiar=hi'  
 1S-pig 3PS-steal=HERE  
 'Help! They're stealing my pig here!'
  - na-faa=lee=ni' ka-vok an-fiar=kha'  
 2S-child=PL=ERG 1S-pig 3PS-steal=NEAR.LISTENER  
 'Your kids stole my pig!'

- (14) Khumi:  
a. A: a<sup>1</sup>ray<sup>2</sup>=ü<sup>1</sup>      a<sup>1</sup>ray<sup>2</sup>ray<sup>2</sup>ray<sup>2</sup>      khew<sup>11</sup>khu<sup>1</sup>      no<sup>4</sup>=nö<sup>3</sup>      khəng<sup>1</sup>-cang<sup>2</sup>=he<sup>1</sup>  
INTERJ=EMOT      INTERJ      knee      hurt=NR      look-try=DEIC  
'Ow! Ouch, ouch, ouch! Look at me, how my knee hurts.' (48.215)  
b. B: ew<sup>1</sup>khung<sup>10</sup>      a<sup>5</sup>      khəng<sup>1</sup>-cang<sup>2</sup>=ho<sup>1</sup>  
entryroom.LOC      chicken      look-try=DEIC  
'Got to the entryway and look at the chickens' (48.216)
- (15) Rengmitca:  
āk-la=ö      löw      hng      ng'waj      kaj      khüj-thuk=la  
pig-male=VOC      run.away      INTERJ      now      1s      fall-DOWNWARDS=TOP  
nang      t'-dü-köm=tu=ti  
2s      NR-die-IRR=DEIC=EVID  
'"Hey pig, run away! If I now fall on you, you'll die!" he said.' (164.64)
- (16) Lai (Barnes 1998:55):  
ka-vok      an-fiar=tsu'  
1s.POSS-pig      3PS-steal=THERE.NOT VISIBLE  
'They are stealing my pig!'  
(noises from the sty alert the speaker to the unseen theft) (Barnes 1998:55)
- the use of deictic elements in this way may have nuances of evidentiality or other categories frequently associated with utterance-final particles
  - they may occur internal to utterance-final particle complexes in specific languages
- ## 5. MARKERS OF SPEAKER ATTITUDE OR STANCE
- ### 5.1. MARKERS OF AFFIRMATION/CONFIRMATION
- (17) Lai =kaw:  
...thoong      ka-tha'y=kaw      a-tii      an-tii  
noise      1SS-hear=AFFIRM      3SS-say      3PS-say  
'... "I certainly did hear the noise," she said, they say.' (MRH.57)
- (18) ee      a- t̥haa=kaw  
INTERJ      3SS-good=AFFIRM  
'"Okay, that's certainly good..."' (TL.40)
- (19) Khumi =cö<sup>4</sup>:  
uh      ne<sup>3</sup>=yö<sup>1</sup>      kay<sup>1</sup>      p'nö<sup>3</sup>=cö<sup>4</sup>  
INTERJ      elder.sister=EMOT      1s      know=CONF  
'"Oh, elder sister, I certainly know..."'
- (20) A: h'ni<sup>3</sup>-      rē<sup>1</sup>to<sup>10</sup>      jew<sup>1</sup>      kha<sup>10</sup>      h'ni<sup>1</sup>      khu<sup>11</sup>mi<sup>1</sup>=hăy<sup>1</sup>      avung<sup>4</sup>=te<sup>5</sup>=bă<sup>4</sup>  
this-      Bandarban.LOC      come      time.LOC      DEM      person=COM      meet=EVID=BĀ

hu<sup>13</sup> (village name)=’ë<sup>1</sup>  
 SUPERDIST name1=GEN  
 ‘This-, he said, when you came to Bandarban you met this person from way  
 over there in (name1).’

B: kay<sup>1</sup>=hăy<sup>1</sup>=a<sup>1</sup>  
 1S=COM=INTERR  
 ‘With me?’

A: öng<sup>1</sup>  
 yeah  
 ‘Yeah.’

B: may<sup>1</sup>ni<sup>3</sup> khu<sup>11</sup>mi<sup>1</sup> aw ng<sup>1</sup> ng<sup>1</sup> ng<sup>1</sup> (village.name)=nö<sup>3</sup> avung<sup>4</sup>=cö<sup>4</sup>  
 which person oh yeah yeah yeah name1.GEN=NR meet=CONF  
 ‘Which person? Oh, yeah, yeah, yeah. The one from (name1). Sure, I met with  
 him.’ (41.202-205)

(21) Rengmitca =ca:  
 kek<sub>D</sub> kek<sub>D</sub>-döklangaj=ca klen=pö ke<sub>B</sub>-’ö=dökla ngaj-’ö  
 go go-SEQ want=AFFIRM once=FOC go-NEG=SEQ want-NEG  
 ‘If he goes regularly, he’ll want to (go). If he doesn’t go even once, he won’t want  
 to.’ (351.21)

(22) Khumi =’e<sup>1</sup>:  
 lâ<sup>1</sup>-üng<sup>1</sup> pyä<sup>4</sup>-thay<sup>12</sup>-lä<sup>3</sup>=ö<sup>1</sup> k’ni<sup>11</sup>-nay<sup>3</sup>-nö<sup>3</sup>=hăy<sup>1</sup>  
 swidden-ELAB(=house) manage-POT-NEG=EMOT rain-NR=COM  
 ti=nö<sup>3</sup>=hăy<sup>1</sup>=’e<sup>1</sup>  
 etc.=NR=COM=AFFIRM  
 ‘They sure won’t be able to finish the field (work) with it raining and all.’ (41.163)

## 5.2. KHUMI =BÄ<sup>4</sup>

### 5.2.1. Mirative-like usage

(23) ah h’ni<sup>3</sup>=lö<sup>1</sup> acë<sup>5</sup>=’ë<sup>1</sup> k’lay<sup>1</sup> lu<sup>4</sup>phe<sup>1</sup> a<sup>1</sup>tâng<sup>2</sup>=bä<sup>4</sup>...  
 INTERJ DEM=TOP 1PINCL=GEN monkey skull resemble=BÄ  
 ‘“Oh, this one looks like our monkey skulls!”...’ (18.61)

(24) nay<sup>11</sup>b’lö<sup>1</sup> râng<sup>4</sup>-nö<sup>3</sup>=cë<sup>5</sup>-cë<sup>5</sup>=bä<sup>4</sup> n’-pë<sup>1</sup>=b’lö<sup>1</sup>...  
 then wither-NR=COLL-COLL=BÄ QUOT-say=SEQ  
 ‘Then she said, “They’re all withered!”...’ (7.39)

(25) m’nö<sup>3</sup> nay<sup>3</sup>=’ë<sup>10</sup> h’ni<sup>3</sup> a<sup>5</sup>=lö<sup>1</sup> lä<sup>4</sup>-ngay<sup>3</sup>=bä<sup>4</sup> nö<sup>3</sup>=te<sup>5</sup>  
 how thus=REAS DEM chicken=TOP run.away-DESID.NEG=BÄ QUOT=EVID  
 ‘“What’s going on? These chickens don’t want to run away!” she said.’ (34.227)

### 5.2.2. Answering a content question

- (26) B: hu<sup>13</sup> tlöyng<sup>3</sup>=ma<sup>6</sup> s'dang<sup>2</sup>-p'lang<sup>2</sup>=lö<sup>1</sup> m'nö<sup>3</sup>=lew<sup>1</sup> a'taa<sup>4</sup>  
 SUPERDIST top=ABL.GEN news-ELAB=TOP how=QUEST grandfather

(name1)-cë<sup>5</sup>=ma<sup>6</sup>=nö<sup>3</sup> hu<sup>13</sup> (name2)=ma<sup>6</sup>=nö<sup>3</sup>  
 name1-COLL=ABL.GEN=NR SUPERDIST name2=ABL.GEN=NR

'How is the news from way over there on top? From grandfather (name1)'s people, from way over there in (name2)?

- A: a'ti<sup>3</sup> s'dang<sup>2</sup>=pö<sup>1</sup> thay<sup>12</sup>-lä<sup>3</sup>=bä<sup>4</sup>  
 what news=FOC hear-NEG=BÄ

no<sup>4</sup>so<sup>1</sup>=lö<sup>1</sup> hây<sup>3</sup>-rây<sup>4</sup>=bä<sup>4</sup>=ö<sup>1</sup>  
 sickness=TOP good-PERS=BÄ=INF

'I haven't heard any news. Everyone is well.' (41.108-110)

### 5.2.3. Providing relevant newsworthy information

- (27) B: ...hu<sup>2</sup>=wa<sup>1</sup> ni<sup>3</sup>=mö<sup>3</sup> üm<sup>1</sup> ha<sup>1</sup>-rë<sup>1</sup> a'lay<sup>4</sup> kha<sup>10</sup>  
 DIST=LOC 3S=FGD house one-COUNT rent time.LOC

âm<sup>2</sup>=nö<sup>3</sup>=kh'lö<sup>1</sup> hây<sup>3</sup>=nö<sup>3</sup>  
 stay=NR=COND good.IRR-NR

'...if he took a house there [in the market] and stayed there, it would be good.'

- A: a'lay<sup>4</sup>=bä<sup>4</sup>=ö<sup>1</sup>  
 rent=BÄ=INF  
 'He's rented one.' (41.180-181)

### 5.2.4. Correcting a mistaken assumption

- (28) A: ng<sup>1</sup> h'ni<sup>3</sup> h'ni<sup>3</sup> (name1)=a<sup>1</sup>  
 yeah this this name1.LOC=INTERR  
 'Yes, this one [a letter] to (name1)?'

- B: kenan- (name2) (name2) ma<sup>1</sup>sto<sup>1</sup>=bä<sup>4</sup> itilhas=bä<sup>4</sup>...  
 clerk- name2 name2 teacher.LOC=BÄ history=BÄ  
 'The clerk—(no), to (name2), (name2), the history teacher...' (41.72-73)

- (29) ...k'ni<sup>11</sup>nay<sup>3</sup>=nö<sup>3</sup> ning<sup>13</sup>ci<sup>2</sup>=pö<sup>1</sup> hi<sup>2</sup>=ma<sup>1</sup> rë<sup>1</sup>to<sup>10</sup> jew<sup>1</sup> kha<sup>10</sup>  
 rain=NR so.much=also PROX=ABL Bandarban.LOC come time.LOC

prang<sup>4</sup> ay<sup>1</sup>=ö<sup>1</sup> kay<sup>1</sup> rë<sup>1</sup>to<sup>1</sup>=ma<sup>1</sup> vâ<sup>4</sup> kha<sup>10</sup> cit'kewng<sup>2</sup>=bä<sup>4</sup>  
 uncle.in.law uncle=INF 1S Bandarban=ABL return time.LOC Chittagong.LOC=BÄ  
 'It rained so much when I came to Bandarban from here, uncle-in-law, I mean, when I returned to Chittagong from Bandarban.' (45.60)

### 5.2.5. Marking an abrupt topic shift (cf. by the way)

- (30) A and B have talked for several turns about the weeding back home. Suddenly A says:  
 h'ni<sup>3</sup> j'vay<sup>3</sup> kha<sup>10</sup> nang<sup>1</sup> fun<sup>3</sup> pang<sup>2</sup>=nō<sup>3</sup>  
 DEM recently time.LOC 2S.LOC phone do=NR

h'ni<sup>3</sup> fon numbar t'ko<sup>12</sup>-lā<sup>1</sup>=bā<sup>4</sup>  
 DEM phone number go-NEG=BÄ

'Recently I called you but this phone number didn't work.' (41.171)

- (31) lew<sup>11</sup>hu<sup>1</sup> a<sup>1</sup>ci<sup>5</sup>=tew<sup>2</sup> hāy<sup>1</sup>play<sup>2</sup>-b'lō<sup>1</sup>=bā<sup>4</sup> a<sup>1</sup>cē<sup>5</sup> khu<sup>11</sup>mi<sup>6</sup> a<sup>1</sup>ci<sup>5</sup> ne<sup>12</sup>-lā<sup>3</sup>  
 Mru story=COP well-SEQ=BÄ 1PINCL Khumi.GEN story correct-NEG  
 'Actually it's a Mru story. It's not one of our Khumi stories.' (21.20)

## 5.3. OTHER STANCE MARKING

### 5.3.1. Lai ='ee (lament, sentimentality)

- (32) moo ka-faa='oo tia' khan an-tii='ii  
 INTERJ 1SPOSS-child=VOC QUOT DEM.OBL 3PS-say=AND

a-ʈap-lengmang khoykaa=da' na-'um-hngaa='ee khoykaa=hen  
 3SS-cry-ITER where=QUEST 2SS-stay-SUBJ='EE where=INDEF.QUEST

na-sii tia' khan a-ʈap-lengmang an-tii  
 2SS-COP QUOT DEM.OBL 3SS-cry-ITER 3SS-say

““Oh, my child,” she said, and kept crying, “Where can you be? Wherever else might you be?” she said, and kept crying, they say.’ (MK)

- (33) ma'khan a-fanuu tsuu a-thii-kaw='ee an-tii  
 then 3SPOSS-daughter DEM 3S-die-AFFIRM='EE 3PS-say  
 'Then, her daughter truly died, they say.' (NHNF.19)

### 5.3.2. Lai ='aay (dismay, reproach):

- (34) ...a-nuupii=ni' tsun a-faa tsuu a-thii='aay  
 3sposs-wife=erg dem.obl 3sposs.child dem 3sS-die='aay  
 "...his wife said, about the baby, 'Oh my gosh, it's dead!'" (TL)

- (35) ...an-thal-le' an-lii=pool khaa tsaaytsim-tee=ni' khan  
 3P-bow-AND 3P-string=COLL DEM mouse-DIM=ERG DEM

a-rak-'ay-di'='ii an-hmang-khaw-tii-law='aay  
 3SS-PERF-eat-DISTR-CONN 3PS-use1-able1-no longer-NEG='AAY

'...the little mouse had eaten their bows and strings, and they weren't able to use them any more.' (PL.28)



### 5.3.3. *Khumi =ba<sup>1</sup>* (sympathy, concern)

- (36) A: ...üŋ<sup>1</sup>=ma<sup>4</sup>      vây<sup>4</sup>-ngay<sup>3</sup>      nay<sup>3</sup>=cě<sup>5</sup>      a<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>3</sup>=pö<sup>1</sup>      thuy<sup>3</sup>=’a<sup>1</sup>  
house=GOAL      return-DESID      QUOT=COLL      what=FOC      say=INTERR  
‘...Did she say anything (about) wanting to return home?’

B: ngay<sup>3</sup>      ang<sup>1</sup>-pě<sup>1</sup>=ba<sup>1</sup>...  
want      1S-say=BA  
‘She told me she wants to.’ (45.132-133)

- (37) ...ning<sup>13</sup>ci<sup>2</sup>      a<sup>1</sup>le<sup>1</sup>seng<sup>1</sup>-rö<sup>3</sup>=nö<sup>3</sup>      a<sup>1</sup>baa<sup>1</sup>  
so.much      be.problem-INCEPT=NR      INTERJ  
‘...it really would have been a problem, gosh.’ (45.154)

## 5.4. REGISTER MARKING

### 5.4.1. *Lai =’ee* (politeness)

- (38) ma’      tsaa=’a’      tsun      nan-nuu      tsaa=’a’      hin      tshangrew  
dem      sake=LOC      DEM.OBL      2P-mother      sake=LOC      DEM.OBL      rice.cake  
pakhat tsiaw      nan-pho’r-laay      ’ii      ma’      hii      thaa-tee      a-phor-khaw-mii  
one      each      2PS-carry-IRR      and      DEM      DEM      good-ADV      3SS-carry-POT-NR  
tsuu      mii-fel      mii- thaa      mii-ding      zu’m-’ook      thlaak-mii  
DEM      person-dutiful      person-good      person-straight      believe-PURP      possible-nr  
minung      nan-sii      tii      khaa aa-hngal-lay=’ee      tia’      khan  
person      2PS-COP      say      DEM      3SSREFL-know-IRR=’EE      QUOT      DEM  
a-ø-tsa’-hnaa=’ee      tii      a-sii  
3SS-3O-say-PO=’EE      say      3SS-COP  
‘“So, each of you carry a rice cake for your mother. And the one who carries it well, it will be known that he is a dutiful, good, honest, trustworthy person,” it’s said.”

- (39) aye’!      kayma’      ka-sii=’ee      tia’      a-tii      an-tii  
interj      1S      1SS-COP=’EE      QUOT      3SS-say      3PS-say  
‘“Oh dear! It’s me,” she said, they say.’ (MRH.52)

### 5.4.2. *Khumi =ö<sup>1</sup>* (informality, casualness):

- (40) a. lă<sup>1</sup>      lă<sup>1</sup>=pö<sup>1</sup>      pyă<sup>4</sup>-thay<sup>12</sup>-lä<sup>3</sup>=ö<sup>1</sup>      liw<sup>1</sup>ngo<sup>1</sup>=wö<sup>1</sup>  
field      field=FOC      finish-POT-NEG=INF      nephew.in.law=INF  
vay<sup>1</sup>nöyng<sup>1</sup>      m’nay<sup>3</sup>=mo<sup>4</sup>      kay<sup>1</sup>cě<sup>5</sup>      a<sup>1</sup>vang<sup>2</sup>=pö<sup>1</sup>      pyă<sup>12</sup>-lä<sup>3</sup>  
this.year      why=QUEST      1P.EXCL.GEN      village.GEN=FOC      finish-NEG  
‘We can’t finish weeding the fields this year, nephew-in-law, for whatever reason, also our village’s (fields) we can’t finish.’ (45.4)

- (41) b. A: tuy<sup>1</sup>=mō<sup>3</sup>      tuy<sup>1</sup>=a<sup>1</sup>      krō<sup>6</sup>-lā<sup>3</sup>-ra<sup>10</sup>=pō<sup>1</sup>=ö<sup>1</sup>  
           water=FGD      water=LOC      take.care.of-NEG-REAS.LOC=FOC=INF
- tuy<sup>1</sup>    hây<sup>12</sup>-lā<sup>3</sup>-ra<sup>10</sup>=pō<sup>1</sup>=ö<sup>1</sup>  
           water    good-NEG-REA.LOC=FOC=INF  
           ‘The water, they aren’t taking care of the water, that’s why. Because the  
           water isn’t good.’
- B: mm... h’nay<sup>3</sup>=c’=ö<sup>1</sup>...  
       yeah    thus=CONF=INF  
       ‘Yeah, that’s surely it...’ (45:14-15)

## 6. UTTERANCE-FINAL *TOPIC* MARKER USAGE

- (42) a. Rengmitca:  
uh nang jöm-p'-haj-cât-dök=la=ti thuj-pö  
INTERJ 2S fly-MAL-APP-motion.away-REAL=TOP=EVID say-BEN  
‘“Huh! You’ll fly away with them on me!” he said to him.’ (165.79)
- b. Khumi:  
h’ni<sup>3</sup>=cě<sup>5</sup> vâ<sup>4</sup>=nö<sup>3</sup> lo<sup>2</sup>=m’tě<sup>2</sup> ci<sup>6</sup>-lă<sup>3</sup>-rây<sup>4</sup>=lô<sup>1</sup>  
DEM=COLL return=NR month=even pass-NEG-PERS=TOP  
kay<sup>1</sup> m’nö<sup>3</sup> pe<sup>1</sup>-rây<sup>4</sup>=mo<sup>4</sup>  
1S why give-PERS=QUEST  
‘Not even a month has passed since they returned! Why would I have given  
(money to him) already?’ (45.172)

(Also occurs in Mru; similar phenomena involving information status markers noted for Hyow.)

## 7. CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

- major categories found in the SC final particle complex:
  - evidentials
  - deictic elements
  - stance/register marking (certainty, newsworthiness/unexpectedness, speaker attitude, formality/informality/politeness)
  - final topic marker
- non-discrete nature of the phenomena
- conversation data crucial; narrative can also be of (more limited) use due to occurrence of directly quoted discourse internal to narrative
- tonal considerations

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